

ARMY HELP NEEDED

Mao Seen Admitting Failure

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HONG KONG—Mao Tse-tung's decision to publicly enlist the aid of regular army troops to help crush opposition among the frightened and confused Chinese people was viewed here today as an unexpected and humiliating admission of failure.

There appeared to be near unanimity among Western authorities here that Mao in the last three weeks has gradually lost control of his artificially stimulated social upheaval and that this failure assures the eventual triumph in China of economic and social pragmatism.

Mao can still win, but Maoism as a world-shaking new ideology lost the moment he called in the army.

Some Western analysts are now confidently predicting the great cultural revolution will reach a discernible climax within the next three to four weeks.

The appeal to Chinese military units to "intervene" on behalf of the Red Guards and other Maoist forces first appeared on a Peking wallposter Monday. It

has since been repeated and amplified in speeches by Premier Chou En-lai and in a widely disseminated Liberation Army Daily editorial. Then China's National Defense Council formally rescinded an earlier order banning the army from directly intervening in Mao's campaign to purge the Communist party establishment from below.

Quotes Mao Maxim

The Liberation Daily, the Army's official organ, quoted Mao's celebrated maxim, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," and said Mao asked troops to aid "true leftists" and "true revolutionary masses." It was the first time in 17 years of Communist rule that Mao has resorted to using troops to quell a rebellious populace.

It was uncertain what form such intervention would take, whether nominal or significant. Analysts here drew the implication that soldiers were to arrest party officials whom the Red Guards had publicly denounced, a category that if literally applied would include virtually everyone of importance in China.

Although the Red Guards have acted under the guidance and control of the army, regular troops are not known to have taken a role themselves until the last three weeks.

Since Jan. 11 provincial garrisons have been used to secure banks, to prevent mass withdrawals and to takeover all but five of China's 27 provincial radio stations.

This move is to insure direct relay of Peking radio broadcasts, an action taken after a takeover by low-level station workers proved unsound. The remaining five stations, in the cities of Shanghai and Canton and other troubled areas continue to broadcast local bulletins under technicians considered loyal to Peking.

Reinforcements Reported

In the last five days there have been reports that army garrisons in Peking and its suburbs have been reinforced and in scattered cities troops have occupied police headquarters and other public buildings.

U.S. sources here estimate as much as 90 percent of the 2.5

million People's Liberation Army is solidly pro-Mao. Since 1959, it has been shaped into a political instrument by Marshal Lin Biao. Recruited almost entirely from poor and backward peasant families, the army is a disciplined and equalitarian force of Communists in unadorned uniforms almost fanatically dedicated to Mao's visionary philosophy.

Some analysts here compare Mao in his war against the middle-aged intellectual Communist bureaucracy to a Christian fundamentalist, who having failed to persuade anybody the established church should be abolished, tries to dynamite it. The church may be physically damaged, but the fundamentalist's theological arguments are apt to be less persuasive than ever.

U.S. officials estimate China's economy has already been set back a decade and it is generally accepted here that Mao's followers, if not Mao himself, are prepared for widespread bloodshed.

Messianic Zeal

While economic considerations loom large to outside observers, analysts caution not enough attention has been given to the messianic zeal of the Maoists, who in Western experience are comparable perhaps only to the early Christians or Medieval Europeans.

In the words of one analyst, "the Maoists believe China can only be saved by totally abolishing the present stratified social order and putting a genuine equalitarian society in its place."

"They really believe the values of self-realization and material incentives are the sole source of evil in the world today and that only by eliminating them can the world be released from its cycle of conflict, greed and war."

Obviously while such ultra-idealism appeals to young peasant-soldiers, older professional officers are going to be thinking more in terms of who is likely to treat the army best, modern weaponry and what they judge China's required defense capabilities.

The old generals are believed to have supporters scattered in the 27 provinces where many of China's 120 to 140 ground divisions are permanently garrisoned, under the command of local party bosses. But the Peoples Liberation Army maintains 13 regional commands, which cut across normal administrative boundaries so that Marshal Lin Biao does have a separate command structure now that he needs it.

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